

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 16018

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: TGEN, US, UR

SUBJECT: US-USSR COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS: DEPUTY SECRETARY'S
MEETING OF US-SIDE CO-CHAIRMEN

REF: (A) STATE 256793, (B) STATE 258718

1. EMBASSY APPRECIATES OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION
OF AGREEMENTS AND PROBLEM AREAS IN PREPARATION FOR MEETING OF
US CO-CHAIRMEN OF BILATERAL COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS TO BE HELD
NOVEMBER 11, PER REFTEL A.

2. EMBASSY NOTES THAT A SPECIFIC OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF THE
PROGRESS AND ACHIEVEMENT OF OBJECTIVES UNDER EACH AGREEMENT, FROM
SIGNATURE TO DATE, WILL BE PREPARED BEFORE FEBRUARY 15 IN CON-
NECTION WITH THE QUARTERLY STATUS REPORT OF AGREEMENT
IMPLEMENTATION, AS REQUESTED IN NSC MEMORANDUM OF OCTOBER 16,
PER REFTEL B. EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE OPPORTUNITY TO CON-
TRIBUTE TO THIS EFFORT. EMBASSY COMMENTS CONCERNING INDIVIDUAL
AGREEMENTS WILL BE FORWARDED BY SEPTTEL.

3. IMPLEMENTATION OF BILATERAL AGREEMENTS.

A. FORM

UNDER THE ELEVEN BILATERAL AGREEMENTS SIGNED SINCE
1972 IN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL FIELDS, US-
USSR COOPERATIVE ACTIVITIES HAVE INCREASED, AND
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CONTINUE TO INCREASE, AT A TREMENDOUS RATE. WITH

THE SINGLE EXCEPTION OF THE APOLLO-SOYUZ TEST PROJECT, DEVELOPMENT OF JOINT ACTIVITY HAS INVOLVED A GREAT NUMBER OF SMALL-SCALE SPECIFIC PROJECTS -- EACH FOCUSED ON ONE PARTICULAR TOPIC OF JOINT INTEREST. THIS PATTERN HAS PERMITTED COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS TO DEVELOP SIMULTANEOUSLY IN A GREAT MANY AGREA, AND HAS PROVIDED EACH SIDE A BROAD EXPERIENCE WITH THE ORGANIZATION AND MECHANICS OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION AND A WIDE SAMPLING OF THE BENEFITS TO BE DERIVED THEREFROM. THIS IS, THEREFORE, APPROPRIATE POINT TO REVIEW EXPERIENCE AS WE MOVE FROM PROJECT PLANNING AND "ACADEMIC TOURISM" TO A BROADER RANGE OF SUBSTANTIVE JOINT PROJECTS.

B. WHO BENEFITS

(1) THE FURTHERING OF DEVELOPMENT IN US-USSR BILATERAL RELATIONS AND CONTACTS, AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF BILATERAL COOPERATION, ARE THE MAJOR BENEFITS DERIVED FROM THE AGREEMENTS AND FROM THEIR IMPLEMENTATION. EACH DELEGATION VISIT, JOINT RESEARCH PROJECT, OR INFORMATION EXCHANGE, IN ITS SMALL WAY, REINFORCES THE COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF DETENTE. SUCCESSFUL JOINT VENTURES AND LONG-RANGE PROGRAMS OF COOPERATION CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF VESTED INTERESTS OF SIGNIFICANT MEMBERS OF THE SOVIET SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL BUREAUCRACY AND THE SOVIET RESEARCH ESTABLISHMENT IN IMPROVED, AND IMPROVING, US-USSR RELATIONS. A BROADENING OF UNDERSTANDING AND PERSPECTIVES ON BOTH SIDES IIS ACHIEVED THROUGH THE EXPANDED CONTACTS AND EXPERIENCES OF THE MANY HUNDREDS OF SCIENTIFIC VISITORS WHO TRAVEL IN BOTH DIRECTIONS EACH YEAR.

(2) THE SCIENTIFIC OR TECHNOLOGICAL RESULTS OF A SPECIFIC RESEARCH PROJECT OR COOPERATIVE PROGRAM ARE AN ADDITIONAL AND CONCRETE BENEFIT TO BE DERIVED. AN EVALUATION OF THESE RESULTS CAN SERVE AS A USEFUL INDICATOR OF THE DIRECTION IN WHICH COOPERATION SHOULD DEVELOP IN FUTURE. IN AGREEMENT
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AREAS WHICH HAVJE SEEN LITTLE ACTIVITY OR ENCOUNTERED IMPLEMENTATION DIFFICULTIES (E.G., HOUSING AND OTHER CONSTRUCTION) THIS TASK IS MUCH LESS COMPLICATED THAN IN AGREEMENT AREAS OF VERY HIGH ACTIVITY AND SOMEWHAT MIXED EXPERIENCE (E.G., S&T OR ENVIRONMENT). THE CO-CHAIRMEN, DRAWING ON THE EXPERIENCE OF THEIR EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES, WORKING GROUP CHAIRMEN, AND PROJECT LEADERS ARE NO DOUBT IN THE BEST POSITION

TO FORMULATE THIS ASSESSMENT OF SCIENTIFIC/TECHNOLOGICAL BENEFITS DERIVED. THE RELATED QUESTION OF WHETHER THE US OR THE USSR HAS REAPED THE GREATER BENEFIT FROM OUR JOINT PROJECTS IS AGAIN ONE THAT THE CO-CHAIRMEN SHOULD BE IN BEST POSITION TO ADDRESS. DETERMINATION OF BALANCE OF BENEFIT FROM TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER IN RELATIVELY SENSITIVE AREAS (I.E., COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY, ENERGY) IS IMPERATIVE. IN OTHER FIELDS (E.G., HEALTH RESEARCH, WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT), IT MAY BE OF MARGINAL IMPORTANCE. APART FROM THE EXACT "BALANCE OF BENEFIT" IT IS IMPORTANT THAT EACH SIDE PERCEIVES THAT THE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL RETURNS, AS WELL AS THE CONTRIBUTION MADE TO THE COURSE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS, IS WORTH THE EXPENDITURE IN TIME, EFFORT, PERSONNEL, AND RESOURCES. IT IS ADDITIONALLY DESIRABLE THAT THERE APPEAR TO BE AN APPROXIMATE PARITY IN SUM BENEFIT DERIVED FROM ALL AGREEMENTS, OVER TIME, BY BOTH SIDES. HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE IMPRACTICAL AS WELL AS UNNECESSARY TO EXPECT STRICTLY RECIPROCAL BENEFIT FROM EACH PROJECT AND EACH AGREEMENT, GIVEN THE CURRENT PATTERN OF IMPLEMENTATION, THE GREAT NUMBER OF JOINT PROJECTS, AND THE VARIETY OF AREAS INVOLVED IN COOPERATION.

4. PROBLEMS. ALTHOUGH WE WILL PROVIDE INPUT FOR THE NSC STUDY TO THE INDIVIDUAL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES ON THE SEPARATE AGREEMENTS, SEVERAL OF THE "GROWING PAINS" OF THE OVERALL COOPERATION EXTEND ALMOST THROUGHOUT THE AGREEMENTS.

A. PLANNING AND FOLLOW-THROUGH

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WITH THEIR NATION DEVOTED TO CENTRALIZED LONG-RANGE PLANNING, THE SOVIETS CARRY THIS CHARACTERISTIC OVER INTO THEIR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND, TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, EXPECT OTHER NATIONS TO DO LIKEWISE. WHEN NEGOTIATING DURING THE PLANNING STAGES OF AN ACTIVITY, THE SOVIETS WILL "GIVE UP" AS LITTLE AS THEY THINK NECESSARY, BUT, HAVING AGREED, THEY WILL GENERALLY PRODUCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT, BOTH CONCEPTUALLY AND BUREAUCRATICALLY, FOR THEM TO CHANGE THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PLANS ONCE AGREED. FOR THESE REASONS, US PARTICIPANTS NEED TO DEVOTE CAREFUL ATTENTION TO PLANNING BEFORE ENTERING NEGOTIATIONS, TO NEGOTIATING BALANCED, CONCRETE PROJECTS AND THEN TO CLOSE MONITORING OF SOVIET (AND US) IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENTS. WITH FULLER APPRE-

CIATION OF THE GENUINE DIFFICULTIES THE SOVIETS FACE
IN CHANGING PLANS ONCE AGREED, THE US SIDE COULD REAP
MORE BENEFITS WHILE FACILITATING SMOOTHER AND
MORE BALANCED COOPERATION

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B. BUREAUCRACIES AND ADMINISTRATION

THE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO MOST POWERFUL
NATIONS MEANS MESHING OF GEARS OF TWO OF THE
LARGEST BUREAUCRACIES IN THE WORLD. SNARL-UPS AND
DELAYS ARE BOUND TO OCCUR, AND THESE PROBLEMS MAY
ARISE WITH NO INTENT ON EITHER SIDE. IN PARTICULAR,
THE SOVIET WORKING-LEVEL BUREAUCRACY IS ALMOST
TOTALLY UNACCUSTOMED TO WORKING WITH OTHER NATIONS,
AND SOME TIME WILL HAVE TO PASS BEFORE THEY GARNER
THE EXPERIENCE TO FUNCTION MORE SMOOTHLY. FURTHER,
JUST AS THE SOVIETS, NEW TO COOPERATION WITH THE US,
HAVE TROUBLE UNDERSTANDING GOVERNMENT/PRIVATE SECTOR
DIFFERENCES, THERE IS PROBABLY INSUFFICIENT APPRE-
CIATION AMONG US SPECIALISTS OF THE COMPLICATIONS
ARISING FROM INHERENT SLUGGISHNESS AND JURISDICTIONAL
PROBLEMS WITHIN THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY. FINALLY,
ALTHOUGH THE GROWTH IN US-USSR COOPERATION IS
NOTHING SHORT OF PHENOMENAL, ON NEITHER SIDE HAS THERE
BEEN A CONCOMMITANT GROWTH OF ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY.
EACH SIDE NEEDS BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE LIMITA-
TIONS OF THE OTHER'S BUREAUCRACY, FROM WHICH WOULD
RESULT BETTER INFORMATION EXCHANGE, FEWER LAST-MINUTE
VISIT CANCELLATIONS OR POSTPONEMENTS (A BAD SOVIET

HABIT), AND TIMELIER PROVISION OF SCHEDULES AND VISAS. THE EMBASSY PROVIDED SUGGESTIONS FOR SMOOTHER OPERATION TO THE RECENT MEETING OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES, AND NOTES WITH APPRECIATION THAT
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SEVERAL OF THESE HAVE APPARENTLY ALREADY BEEN INSTITUTED.

C. MARKETABILITY

AS DISCUSSED IN PARA 3, THE EXPANSION OF US-USSR COOPERATION HAS BEEN PRINCIPALLY VIA PROLIFERATION OF SMALL PROJECTS. WHILE IN FACT AFFORDING TO THE US EXCELLENT CONTACTS WITH WORKING-LEVEL SOVIETS AND THUS FULFILLING SOME POLICY GOALS, THESE PROJECTS DO NOT ATTRACT MUCH INTEREST OF THE US PUBLIC OR CONGRESS. THE VISIT OF THE US SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL TEAM TO THE USSR HYDROELECTRIC STATION MAY BE MEAT FOR THE SOVIET MEDIA, BUT IT JUST WON'T PLAY IN PEORIA.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS. EMBASSY OFFERS FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS WHICH MIGHT ALLEVIATE SOME PROBLEMS, INCLUDING THOSE OF PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT:

A. MID-YEAR PERFORMANCE REVIEWS WITH SOVIETS, BY AGREEMENT. THE JOINT COMMISSION AND COMMITTEE MEETINGS ALLOW ANNUAL HIGH-LEVEL REVIEW OF PERFORMANCE UNDER THE AGREEMENTS, AND SPECIFY FOR BOTH SIDES WHAT GENERAL DIRECTIONS OF COOPERATION ARE TO BE TAKEN IN THE FUTURE. IN VIEW OF CURRENT EXPANSION IN US-USSR COOPERATION, EMBASSY URGES THAT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF EACH AGREEMENT CONSIDER HAVING A MID-YEAR MEETING WITH SOVIET COUNTERPART TO DISCUSS THE AGREEMENT'S IMPLEMENTATION SINCE THE JC MEETING, AS WELL AS EXPECTATIONS AND PLANS UNTIL THE NEXT. SUCH A MEETING WOULD OPTIMALLY BE HELD IN THE CAPITAL WHERE THE JC MEETING WILL NEXT BE (I.E., WHERE IT WAS NOT LAST HELD), AND WOULD INCLUDE REPRESENTATION FROM THE EMBASSY (US EMBASSY IN MOSCOW OR SOVIET EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON). IN EMBASSY VIEW, SUCH MID-YEAR MID LEVEL DISCUSSIONS (WHICH CAN BE FAR FRANKER THAN JC MEETING) WOULD ACHIEVE BETTER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, ENCOURAGE BETTER SOVIET PERFORMANCE, AND DECREASE POSSIBILITY OF FACT (OR ACCUSATION) OF SOVIETS' UNDEEDED "NICKLE-AND DIMING" ADVANTAGES TO
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GAIN LARGE IMBALANCE.

B. LARGE PROJECTS. EMBASSY HAS ALREADY RECORDED FAVORABLE VIEW TOWARD DEVELOPEMT OF ONE OR TWO LARGE BILATERAL COOPERATIVE PROJECTS. IN OUR VIEW, THIS WOULD BE LOGICAL STEP FORWARD IN THE COOPERATION/DETENTE PROCESS. IN ADDITION, SEVERAL OTHER ADVANTAGES WOULD BE SERVED:

(1) BENEFITS. IF THE TOTAL PROJECT HAS A BALANCED GOAL, THEN THERE NEED BE LESS CONCERN OVER BENEFIT BALANCE IN INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT JOINTLY TOWARD THE GOAL. GIVEN PUBLIC SENTIMENT, EMBASSY FEELS THAT ANY LARGE PROJECT CHOSEN SHOULD HAVE PRACTICAL, USEFUL GOAL AND SHOULD GO BEYOND PUBLIC-RELATIONS AND TECHNICAL-PROWESS EVENTS.

(2) ADMINISTRATION. A LARGE PROJECT WOULD PROBABLY HAVE A SINGLE RESPONSIBLE AGENCY MANAGING ON EACH SIDE, YIELDING SMOOTHER ADMINISTRATION. ALTHOUGH GREATER ATTENTION WOULD HAVE TO BE ASSURED TO USG FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS THAN WAS ALWAYS THE CASE IN APOLLO-SOYUZ, THE OPERATIONAL SUCCESS OF THAT JOINT PROJECT WAS AN ADMINISTRATIVE LANDMARK.

(3) THE VISIBLE DIFFERENCE. FOLLOWING APOLLO-SOYUZ, THE INIATION OF ANOTHER MAJOR JOINT PROJECT WOULD SIGNAL A SERIOUS EFFORT TO MOVE US-USSR COOPERATION ANOTHER STEP FORWARD. A WELL CONCEIVED AND ADMINISTERED MAJOR PROJECT WOULD PROBABLY COMMAND FAR GREATER PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST THAN DOES THE SUME OF THE SMALL PROJECTS, USEFUL AS THE LATTER HAVE BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE.

C. COORDINATION OF AGREEMENTS. FROM EMBASSY PERSPECTIVE, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT OVERALL COORDINATION OF AGREEMENTS SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED IF USG IS TO BE IN POSITION TO ENSURE THAT PROGRAM AS A WHOLE IS RUN TO MAXIMUM BENEFIT OF THE UNITED STATES. BETTER PRIOR PLANNING FOR PROJECT NEGOTIATION, BETTER AND MORE CONSISTENT BRIEFING OF US PARTICIPANTS, AND MORE SYSTEMATIC ATTENTION TO PROMPT REPORTING
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ON PROJECT EXPERIENCE APPEAR TO US NECESSARY. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT MORE CONSISTENT PERFORMANCE IN THESE AREAS REQUIRES A GREATER ALLOCATION OF PERSONNEL TO MANAGE THE COORDINATION EFFORT THAN HAS HITHERTO BEEN MADE AVAILABLE.

WE DO NOT HAVE IN MIND CREATION OF A LARGE BUREAUCRACY,
BUT IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE JOB CANNOT BE DONE PROPERLY
WITHOUT SOME INCREMENT IN THE PERSONNEL RESOURCES ALLOCATED
TO THIS IMPORTANT TASK.

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